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NEWS AND VIEWS

IDEALS TO LIVE BY

THE IDEAL OF HUMANISM

We are seeking to present Humanism as a religious philosophy which denies no particular faith, but which provides a path over which all people can travel toward a unity that rises above the barriers of the beliefs which divide them. In behalf of this common faith, we emphasize a constructive approach rather than opposition to traditional philosophies.

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TEN AIMS OF HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP

- 1—Full endorsement of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations at the Plenary meeting December 10, 1948, and world-wide implementation and fulfillment of those rights at the earliest possible moment.
- 2—The use of science to serve society, creatively, constructively, and altruistically in the preservation of life, the production of abundance of goods and services, and the promotion of health and happiness.
- 3—The establishment and furthering of scientific integral education in all schools and colleges so as to emancipate all peoples from the thralldom of ignorance, superstition, prejudices and myths which impede individual development and forestall social progress.
- 4—The widest promotion of the creative arts so as to release all potential artistic abilities and raise the general level of artistic appreciation.
- 5—The increase of social, recreational and travel activities in order to broaden the outlook and improve the intercultural understanding among all peoples.
- 6—An accelerated conservation program (1) of the world's natural resources to arrest wasteful exhaustion and wanton destruction and to insure their preservation and widest beneficial use for man's survival (2) to conserve the world's human resources by the establishment of correct population balances as related to their geographical areas.
- 7—The inauguration of a world-wide economy of abundance through national economic planning and international economic cooperation so as to provide a shared plenty for all peoples.
- 8—The advancement of the good life on the basis of a morality determined by historical human experience and contemporary scientific research.
- 9—The development of a coordinated private, cooperative and public medical program which will provide preventive as well as curative medicine and include adequate public health education and personal health counseling.
- 10—The expansion of United Nations functions (1) to include international police power with sufficient armed forces to prevent war and (2) an international economic coordinating committee to plan ways to prevent disastrous national and worldwide economic crises.

(Successor to WELCOME NEWS)
HUMANIST WORLD DIGEST

A Quarterly of Liberal Religion

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HUMANISM TODAY

By Narsingh Narain

I recently had an opportunity to study the working of the humanist movement in Europe, specially Britain. I had also the privilege of attending and taking some part in the deliberations of the second World Congress of the International Humanist and Ethical Union held in London in July, 1957, under the presidency of Lord Boyd Orr. It was sponsored jointly by the British Ethical Union and the Rationalist Press Association, London, of which the celebrated philosopher, Bertrand Russell, is the president. Member-organizations of the International Union have different historical backgrounds and philosophical preferences, and their common ground is often so mixed up with these that it is difficult to distinguish between them. Humanists are divided on the question whether humanism should be called a religion, but humanism does claim to be an alternative to traditional religions. There are undoubtedly basic and far-reaching differences between humanism and traditional religions. But for various reasons their differences are apt to be magnified or distorted. My object in this article is to examine humanism from this point of view. I hope that this may give the general reader a clearer picture of what exactly humanism stands for.

The fundamental convictions of humanism may be summarized as follows:

- (1) Disbelief in revelation and reliance upon human capacities alone for the interpretation of life and the world.
- (2) A sense of ethical values is inherent in human nature and morality requires no supernatural sanction.
- (3) Humanism is interested not only in ethics but in all human relations and in the development of all human potentialities, the cultivation of science and art, self-understanding, social welfare, peace, etc.

- (4) Humanism does not look upon human beings as souls to be saved. Its aims are entirely this-worldly, which is not to say that they are concerned with material things alone.

A common misconception, for which humanists themselves are partly responsible, is that humanism is identified with atheism. Humanism is really indifferent to views concerning the existence or non-existence of God, as it holds that its practical ideals are independent of such views. For this reason it was suggested at the recent Congress that the best term to denote the attitude of humanism regarding this question would be "non-theism." In India, which gave birth to two great non-theistic religions, Jainism and Buddhism, the followers of traditional religions should be less shocked by this attitude than people in the West.

Theism based on the authority of religious scriptures has features which make it inconsistent with the humanist outlook, but there is nothing to rule out theism based on independent grounds. At the Congress I raised the question whether the theism, for instance, of A. N. Whitehead was consistent with humanism. Prof. Libbe van der Wal promptly answered "Certainly," and no one challenged that answer. (Prof. Wal was the speaker and Rapporteur of the Philosophy Section and he occupies a chair of philosophy sponsored by the Dutch Humanist League specially with respect to the humanist conception of life. The section was presided over by Mr. Henry Neumann, Chairman of the Fraternity of Leaders of the American Ethical Union). Unfortunately humanists and others who are atheists are often dogmatic about it, which gives the impression that denial of God is a necessary part of humanism. Humanism is opposed to all kinds of dogmas, but it is not easy to live up to this principle. There can be humanist dogmas and rationalist dogmas and even scientific dogmas. A. N. Whitehead observed that "at this moment (he was writing apparently in 1939) scientists and sceptics are the greatest dogmatists." This is one of the dangers that humanism has to guard against.

It may be asked, what is the good of a theism which rejects the idea of revelation and assigns no function to God? It must be admitted that, if God exists, it cannot be that He has no function. It may be, for instance, that we would all go to pieces if He ceased to exist, if such a thing were possible. As far as I know theism unconnected with religious faith does not include any theory as to how God functions. Humanists however do not accept the theory that God sends prophets or incarnates Himself.

But what about the man, it may be asked, who feels that he has direct experience of God, for whom it is not a matter of either speculation of faith? The answer, in short, is that humanism does not rule out the theism of Whitehead or of Sir James Jeans, but its practical ideals still remain unaffected. If I may quote it here, I suggested in the Philosophy section of the Congress the following formulation of the position of humanism with respect to mysticism, and though time did not permit of its discussion, it had a favorable enough reception to be mentioned in the report which was placed before the plenary session of the Congress and was adopted by it.

Humanism is not concerned to deny or affirm the reality or nature of what is known as mystical, spiritual or religious experience. But it does not regard any such experiences as having an independent value except insofar as it may help the individual having such experiences to further the practical ideas of humanism already set forth.

I believe the most crucial point which distinguishes humanism from traditional religions is that humanism does not regard men as souls to be saved. And it is important to stress the fact that this position is not bound up with either atheism or materialism. Neither theism nor idealism require one to accept the theory of souls and salvation. Nor, on the other hand, does atheism rule out that theory, as Jainism shows, though materialism does. Spinoza was a great believer in God—he is said to have been “God-intoxicated”—but he rejected the idea of personal immortality. In our own day Einstein ridiculed the idea of personal immortality. Sir Arthur Keith, while accepting God, regarded the craving for immortality as, to quote his own words, “a sin of the flesh, one to be conquered and suppressed. This is reminiscent of what Buddha taught long ago. And though, for reasons into which we cannot enter here, salvation remained the goal of life in Buddhism, and also in Advaita Vedanta of Hinduism, the idea of salvation is really inconsistent with their cosmologies, for both reject the theory of individual souls. As Rhys Davids wrote in his Introduction to the Buddhist Suttas:

Buddhism is not only independent of the theory of soul, but regards that theory as worse than profitless as the source of manifold delusions and superstitions.

As regards Advaita Vedanta, consider its position as summarized by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, in his *Essentials of Indian Philosophy*:

Brahman is the sole reality, and it appears both as the objective universe and as the individual subject. The former is an illusory manifestation of Brahman, while the latter is Brahman itself appearing under the limitations which form part of that illusory universe.

The idea of eternally separate spiritual entities working out their salvation through numerous births can hardly fit into this picture of the universe.

On this question of souls and salvation it is also necessary to refer to the fact that one may believe in life after death on empirical grounds, such as the evidence furnished by psychical research or parapsychology. Religions of Indian origin believe in reincarnation, and many educated Indians think that reincarnation is proved beyond doubt by the cases, which are reported from time to time, in which children are able to recollect incidents of their previous lives, and their accounts are verified in various ways, such as by their identifying people and places they had never seen before. It is not possible to go into the merits of this kind of evidence here, but it may be pointed out that in the West people find evidence to prove a different theory about future life takes different forms in different parts of the world in accordance with their own religious traditions. Is it at all credible that future life takes different forms in different parts of the world in accordance with the creeds prevailing there? However this may be, the important point to note here is that the humanist attitude in this matter is not so much a question of judgment as to facts as of judgment of value. It is possible for a man to accept the theory of reincarnation, for instance, without accepting the further proposition that our "highest aim is release from historical succession denoted by birth and death". (Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, page 83). It is possible for a man to have some such attitude as this: "Let there be future life, but I feel no desire to be bothered about it. I will be content to do what I can for the life I see around me, and for the lives which will come after me. I leave the life after death to take care of itself." Within religions themselves one can often see a shift in values in this direction, but we cannot pursue this point here.

In the end something must be said about the general attitude of humanism. In the first place, humanism is not a closed system of ideas. To quote again from the report adopted at the recent Congress, "it holds that its own firm convictions must be

subjected to the test of repeated examinations in the light of further evidence." Secondly, humanism recognizes elements of great value in traditional religions and elements which deserve investigation, along with wrong ideas and obsolete knowledge. In this connection I may again refer to mysticism which occupies a special place in Indian religious thought. Prof. Jolian Huxley, in his presidential address to the first Congress in 1952, posed this question:

Is it possible to develop communicable techniques for attaining satisfying kinds of mystical experience, such as are recorded for Yoga, and to make them widely available, without impairing personality and without begging theological questions or professing particular theistic beliefs?

In a symposium entitled "Reason in Action" published in 1956, a prominent humanist, J. B. Coates, wrote as follows:

In particular there are embodied in the finer elements of religious tradition, as indeed in the thought of certain contemporary thinkers, such as Berdyaev and Schweitzer, not only highly significant ethical conceptions, but an understanding of certain techniques for the integration of personalities and the release of creative energies which humanism must understand and appropriate if it is to realize its great purpose.

These are individual views and other humanists may or may not agree with them. But they show that humanists are prepared to explore all possible avenues for the development of human potentialities. In the quest for the highest values of life organized humanism can provide a fellowship for those who are unable to accept the creeds of traditional religions and their general approach which consists so largely in the interpretation of sacred texts.

—The Indian Rationalist

* * *

He drew a circle that shut me out
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout;
But Love and I had the wit to win:
We drew a circle that took him in.

—Edwin Markham

FITTING IN THE PIECES

By B. T. Rocca

The astronomers and physicists tell us that they have established the age of the Universe at something over four and one-half billion years. What was before that is merest speculation—some thinking that the present universe was created from the collapse of a previous universe; others that creation is going on today as it was in the past by the enormous amount of radiant energy given out by the countless stars being converted into hydrogen atoms, the fundamental building blocks of the Universe.

The astronomers, through their telescopes can not only study the Heavens as they are today—but also as they were one hundred years ago, one thousand years ago and so on, up to over a billion years ago! At first glance this seems fantastically impossible but since the stars in the heavens are at such great distances and they are so numerous, the astronomer can pick out stars at varying distances and observe a star not as it is today but as it was when the light left the star. Light travels 186,000 miles per second, eleven million per minute and at this fantastic speed almost six trillion miles per year. So, the astronomer uses this distance as a measuring stick to measure interstellar distances—called a light year. The nearest star is about four light years away, and so far, the bigger the telescope man builds the farther out into space he sees until now he has reached over a billion light years. And, this light, travelling for a thousand million years is just like light originating today—it travels at the same speed, in the same manner, whether reflected, refracted or polarized—absolutely changeless. And so is light from other stars at any and every distance,—and these stars can be observed in every phase of evolution from newly formed, intensely bright stars, to stars that have lived out their existence and have become cold.

The physical laws of the Universe are fixed and remarkably regular. We know that water boils at a certain temperature and pressure and freezes likewise—always unchanging. Falling bodies always fall at the same speed; mineral crystals always form in the same manner with interfacial angles always the same. We know that the properties of light have not changed in a billion years, and all evidence points to all properties of matter being the same now as at all other times. While the Universe, as such, is in a constant state of evolution, the laws governing this are changeless. All of the elements are always the

same—the same composition—the same properties, whether gaseous or in solid form.

All life on this planet, the Earth, depends upon the Sun for its existence and the Sun is giving off of its energy at a fantastic rate. Fortunately it is fantastically large but even so everything finite has a finite end and from the study of other similar stars (suns) the astronomers estimate the sun has lived about two-thirds of its useful life, so the life on this planet must come to a chilly end in the distant future, if some fiery calamity does not overtake it in the meantime, from an exploding star.

One of the most noted of these stellar spectacles was an immense star which exploded in the year 1034 A.D. as recorded by Chinese astronomers—enormous pieces going out in all directions at 3000 kilometers per second, to form what is now known as the Crab Nebula.

The force of this explosion is calculated as being equal to 40-septillion times the force of the Hiroshima bomb! Fortunately it was many, many light years away. Such an explosion in one of our nearest stars would have ended our little earth in short order.

The age of the earth is something over 2,900,000,000 years, the age of the oldest rock yet discovered. Since certain radioactive minerals lose their radioactivity at a known, never changing rate, the age of rocks can be very accurately determined.

The geologists tell us that the earth has gone through a constant never-ending change; mountains are raised by internal stresses in the earth's crust and these mountains are eroded away by rain, wind, freezing and thawing. Immense sedimentary deposits were formed in the oceans' depths. Many of these were uplifted and partially eroded away again. This process has gone on for billions of years but from the study of rock formations and correlation with those of other parts of the world, the comparative age of the formation can be determined. The earlier formations show no evidence of any form of life but later formations contain fossil remains of very primitive animal and vegetable remains. Succeeding formations show a constant change into ever more complex forms until evidence of life, as we know it today, is seen. How the first unicellular plant and animal form originated can only be guessed as a fortuitous happening in the primordial sea; the proper chemicals, moisture and heat started what we know as life. But from that time on the rocks tell a quite complete story to the geologist and palaentologist. For

recognized that politics and morality are one and indivisible. In recent scandals involving men in public life the identification of Catholics among the betrayers of trust came so often as to bring us a heavy sense of shame." And this. We have been wondering about it for a long time: "We would be something less than honest if we did not recognize that many of the most notorious political machines in America have been built by Catholics and operated by Catholics." Other religious bodies have been equally indifferent to the evil done by their people. The Catholic is the largest of the Christian groups. It is thought to exercise most influence over the consciences and the conduct of its people. We cite it as an example of the failure of the Christian theological system at its largest to restrain the conduct that really does the hurt.

* * *

AMERICANS FOR THE WORLD

By William Edward Zeuch

We had thought that isolationism was just about dead in this country and ready to be buried but, like the proverbial cat, it seems to have nine lives. Again the Little Americans are raising the hue and cry of America For The Americans.

In our steadily shrinking world, every day made smaller and smaller by faster planes and new speed records, isolationism is an anachronism. It is not only that thousand-mile-an-hour jets have reduced time-space realtionships on this shrivelling globe of ours but also that many other things, such as international economic interdependence, have been working to make Little Americanism, as well as many other such dated provincial notions, obsolete.

History teaches us, if it teaches us anything, that it is suicidal for any nation to be rich and unprotected, or inadequately protected. It has been in the past, and still is, an invitation to invasion and pillage by every neighboring poorer overpopulated country. Almost every great power or advanced civilization down through history fell a victim to such plundering marauders. Nowadays, due to technological advances, it is impossible for any nation, no matter how rich, to protect itself.

The only real defense for any country is to make the whole world one. This means not only an equating of limited sovereignty but a sharing of the world's resources according to need. What we must have at present is not armed-to-the-teeth preparedness but a world program of mutual helpfulness on some

honorable quil-pro-quo basis. Americans will save and maintain all that is worth while in our favored land by an Americans-For-the-World program rather than by following a narrow, self-centered America-For-Americans policy.

Because we are, temporarily at least, the richest and the most powerful nation in the world, we Americans are in a most advantageous position to determine what our one world shall be. There are conditions which we do not want in our world of tomorrow. We can lay down requirements so as to eliminate what we do not want in the future world civilization.

For example, as we view older civilizations that have endured into the present era, we see that most of them are cursed with inadequate resources and overpopulation. Millions starve to death every year in China and India and hundreds of millions live in a perpetual state of malnutrition. The actually developed resources of those nations, regardless of what their potential resources may be, are not sufficient to feed their people. Yet their people continue to bring forth young as thoughtlessly and as unrestrainedly as animals.

One condition of sharing our abundant resources might well be that every overpopulated country adopt a program of population control whereby numbers shall be reduced to the point where developed resources will provide a decent standard of living for every individual.

There is absolutely no virtue in quantity or volume of population, particularly when it is diseased, starved, and ignorant. Rather, the virtue of any people is in its quality, that is, in its health, its intelligence, its well-being—all of which depend primarily upon an adequate standard of living.

We would be foolish, indeed, to share our resources with any peoples who would not cooperate fully in such a program of population limitation. On any other basis we would be sharing merely to increase human misery. We must avoid, too, all suggested trick solutions for the population problem.

Just recently a writer claims that overpopulation is due to starvation on a starch diet which combination, he claims, increases fertility. This may be true or false, no one knows for sure, but even if it is true he offers no way whereby the starving millions may get onto a well-fed, protein diet which he insists is necessary to achieve a reduced birth rate.

If the quantity of population is kept well within ability to maintain at a decent standard of living, and we have all the

eliminated the last vestiges of a tail that was useful in the time our ancestors lived in the trees.

Summing it all up—life began in a simple way millions of years ago and has been progressing constantly ever since along a very definite evolutionary pattern. At no time can we find any evidence of any divine or supernatural power influencing it, one way or the other. All things have a definite life cycle within fairly close limits—upset at times by unfortunate accidents or disease. We all pass on very definite characteristics to those that follow. Mendel developed the laws of heredity working on peas, and these apply equally to humans.

The basic building block of all living things is the protoplasmic cell and how these cells can fashion a delicate eye, or a hard bone, is amazing to us. In case of a wound these cells rush to repair the damage in a miraculous way. One might say they seem to display intelligence. There is much to learn as to just how they function; but once life ceases, whether in man, monkey, elephant or mouse, all activity of the cell replacing living forces cease, and decomposition soon sets in. From all observations death in all living animals is exactly alike—there is no visual evidence to support a soul in man or any other animal going on to another life.

Earlier religions had many gods but the later religions changed from polytheism to monotheism. The leading religions of the world today are monotheistic, though the Mohammedans feel the Christian religion approaches polytheism with God, Christ and the Holy Ghost. Under polytheism the Egyptians developed a high moral sense with forty-two listed sins and they left a far more complete record of their code than we have of Christ's time, as all records of that era were destroyed. Western morality owes much, also, to the Medes, Persians, Greeks and Romans, all of whom developed high moral codes before the Christian Era began.

Looking at the overall history of the world for its billions of years of existence, everything is seen to evolve in its own manner, with no real plan or overall scheme. Everyone and every living thing goes through its life cycle ending in death—complete and final. Man, through his own efforts, has learned to combat disease to make use of the laws of nature, to control his environment, to fly machines in the air at terrific speeds, and his inventions are countless. He is uncovering more and more wonders of nature, of distant universes, of infinitely small

particles making up the supposed indivisible atom. He is advancing in knowledge at a terrific rate with all previous knowledge and new equipment at his command. And he is doing all of this without aid from any supernatural force from without. All evidence points to a world where all things are striving for survival, the survival of the fittest except where man, through compassion, cares for the weak and the handicapped. For the rest of the world, Darwin's great work on the survival of the fittest reigns supreme. The white man, in conquering the Indian and killing off the buffalo in our land, had no Divine right—only the right of superior force, and so it has been in all history.

We can find no evidence of a Divine Power ever coming to the aid of the righteous and weak; ruthless conquerors were never stopped except by superior forces.

All of the great religions of the world claim that at some time their respective God revealed Himself and gave forth Commandments, or Holy Doctrine, but, as Thomas Paine pointed out 150 years ago, no religion believes the so-called revelations of the others—and as all are wholly unsubstantiated he believed none of them. Anyone studying the history of the Universe from every angle can only come to the same conclusion. Christianity has developed rapidly in the past 1900 years despite the fact that nothing is really known of the life of Christ and His supposed crucifixion. There just are no historical records of that time; not a word He ever uttered was recorded, or of anyone who knew Him. The stories of His life, the miracles, and His crucifixion and resurrection are wholly unsupported by historical records. Beautiful stories have been written and they have been accepted as man is still prone to believe in a supernatural power. Few—very few—ever take the time to examine the records in a calm, analytical manner—otherwise Christianity would not be where it is today. But, we must not forget that 1900 years is less than one-millionth the life span of the earth—or a mere moment in the world's history. We have gotten away from superstition, incantations, human sacrifices, sorcery, witch burning and many other displays of fear of the mystical or supernatural, but have we grown to fearlessly examine every phenomenon of nature and rely on ourselves completely? Man has progressed far on his own intelligence and never ending energy though various religious forces have, at times, impeded his progress and also been the cause of many wars and unspeakable tortures—all in the name of religion.

When men learn to rely on their own efforts and intelligence,

progress will be ever faster and life a greater happiness through accomplishment to all.

The crumbled or buried ruins of past temples of Egypt, Carthage, Tyre, Rome, Greece, Babylon, Ankor Vat, Jerusalem, Mexico, Central America and Peru should tell a compelling story to any thoughtful person. Man is definitely on his own and should, some time, realize that temples of learning are far more important than temples of worship—the real purpose of which cannot be explained intelligently by mature man.

It is a world of realism—often cruel—but with a real joy of living and accomplishment for those with courage, intelligence and determination, who accept the way of life and expect nothing of an after-life, which could only be an endless monotony—far worse than deep and eternal sleep.

* * *

The sculptor produces the beautiful statue by chipping away such parts of the marble block as are not needed—it is a process of elimination.

—Elbert Hubbard

* * *

TOWARD A 'GARRISON STATE'

By Norman Thomas

President Eisenhower, to his credit, has at least twice suggested the possibility that America might become a "garrison state." He seems to feel that the danger lies in excessive military spending at the price of a balanced budget. I share his desire for a balanced budget which I think should be achieved along the lines of Senator Clark's proposals for adding about \$4 billion in taxes simply by closing loopholes in the present law.

This \$4 billion would be of great help in fighting unemployment, ignorance, and other enemies of a happy democracy rather better than the President's budget would allow. A balanced budget is not our major need. The real dangers of drift toward a garrison state the President has largely overlooked.

The Politics of Apathy

To begin with, this drift is made easy by an apathetic population willing to take its chances on a nuclear war to save a city, West Berlin, which 39% of them cannot accurately locate in the midst of the surrounding communist sea. Such a population by its docility, fatalism, and misinformation makes progress

toward the kind of state the President fears relatively easy. Look at some of the measures already taken to hasten us toward this ugly goal:

1. The four-year extension of the draft act, without anything like proper debate in either House of Congress. Many even of its supporters who voted for it just to show Khrushchev how tough we could be admit its inequity to our youth and its imperfection even from a military standpoint. The Cordiner Report was quite specific on the latter point. Yet America, with its ancient tradition of complete opposition to peacetime conscription, has accepted virtually without discussion, a four-year extension of the measure which make the military through Selective Service master of the lives and in many cases the destiny of our best young men. This at a time when Great Britain is abandoning it.

2. Simultaneously with the extension of the draft there has been a strengthening of the tie-in between science and cold war. The papers have been singing the praises of the scientists and their military allies who last summer carried out the successful Argus explosions some 300 miles above the surface of the earth. It was ridiculous to call this experiment "the greatest scientific experiment of the century." It was one of a scientifically glorious series which increases our knowledge of the universe. But it was not primarily an experiment to that end, nor was it so hailed by our press. Rather we were given vague intimations that the knowledge gained of a possible means to establish temporarily an electronic belt around the earth or considerable portions of it might be useful in war as a protection against missiles or in some other way not clearly explained to laymen to thwart or defeat the enemy.

The experiment was a hurry-up job to explode atom bombs high above the earth before the date set for temporary suspension of tests. The tests were kept secret until the New York Times forced publication. Then we were assured there was no atomic fallout which had reached us from that height. Who knows? Of course, there was a fallout. Enough bombs to establish an effective blast, some scientists say, would be dangerous in fallout.

Prof. W. Selove, vice-president of the Federation of American Scientists, and Associate Professor of Physics of the University of Pennsylvania, writes to the New York Times: "Enough relatively large nuclear explosions, of such size that heavy fallout (the use of 'clean' bombs would reduce fallout but not eliminate it), would give only a tenuous layer of electrons over the world."

Hushing Up Test Results

Meanwhile, when many scientists have tried to warn the people about the genetic and somatic dangers in atomic tests, the military have hushed them up as long as possible, or played down their information, or tried to deflect all blame to our opponent in the cold war. Thus, Prof. Libby, who until now has consistently tried to minimize the dangers in nuclear tests, tells us that the Soviet tests last fall might double radioactive fallout. The implication is that the Russians are peculiar sinners. The facts are that in London in 1957, the U. S. refused to consider a two-year suspension of tests under inspection, that Khrushchev announced a suspension of Russian tests unless the English-speaking powers should further push their tests, which the English-speaking powers promptly did, closing off for that purpose various vast areas of ocean which they do not own. Only then did Khrushchev resume tests, apparently with shocking indifference to the question of fallout. And now the Atomic Energy Commission lets its experts tell us that the heaviest fallout is over our own country. But that matters little to the military and their pet scientists so long as we can keep the kind of leadership which, if we escape catastrophe, will land us in a garrison state. The AEC and the Defense Department quite clearly want Khrushchev to break up the Geneva Conference for them.

3. On the road to catastrophe, or the garrison state, enormous vested interests in military spending are established, not alone for scientists who have been given funds they never dreamed of for research, but for thousands of corporations and their stockholders doing business with the biggest spender in the world, our Defense Department. Yes, and in a time of serious unemployment, a great many workers have a vested interest in armaments because they provide an employment which the needs of millions of people here and abroad for food, clothes, homes, education and health under our system cannot provide.

Maintaining an Alarm System

4. Even a docile population must be kept thoroughly committed to the military way of life by some tangible obligations. Hence we have military alliances of one sort or another with some 50 nations. And we are asked to applaud the unpopular Iranian government because it angered its powerful Soviet neighbor by accepting American agreement to come to its aid in case of aggression, a word by no means well defined. A similar pact between the Soviet Union and, let us say, Mexico, might well

have triggered war. But we have such pacts with several unstable nations on the borders of the Soviet Union.

Back in 1946, the infant U.N. proved strong enough to check Soviet aggression in Iran. Yet, instead of making the U.N. stronger or trusting to it in the prevention of aggression, the builders of our garrison state commit us to readiness to do in Iran what the President himself says we can't do in Central Europe, namely, win a ground war against the Soviet Union. In Iran's neighbor, Iraq, it now appears that Khrushchev wants a strong pan-Arab federation, except as a talking point against the U. S., at least as little as our State Department and the British Foreign Office. Yet in this clouded situation, on our road to a garrison state, Washington, has repeatedly underwritten so risky an alliance as the Baghdad Pact.

The Question of Berlin

5. But of all our commitments, too many to mention in this brief article, that which is immediately most serious is a commitment which at least until recently seemed to be part of American policy in the Berlin crisis. That is, a commitment to make the achievement of catastrophe or the garrison state even surer by insisting that come what may, we shall indefinitely keep a garrison in West Berlin and resolutely refuse even to consider proposals for carefully phased troop withdrawals in Central Europe along the lines of the revised Rapacki Plan offered by the Polish Foreign Minister.

As our Socialist resolution says, we do indeed owe a great deal to the West Berliners because their city is a shining outpost of democracy and because our leaders in World War II and immediately thereafter were so largely responsible for its critical plight by their wrong approach to peace. None of Khrushchev's suggestions for guarantees of a free city is satisfactory, but his own reference to the U.N. makes it quite likely that an appeal to it in advance of any resort to force would stay his hand.

It now seems that he will get the summit talk that he has so ardently desired. That talk should not be afraid of the word disengagement, or of the extension of the principle of demilitarization applied in Austria. It is a perverse madness that says that a continuance of the present situation gives hope of a growth of freedom in Central Europe. The opposite is the case. Nothing is clearer than that neither side will permit the creation of a reunited Germany, armed with atomic weapons, as a military member either of NATO or the Warsaw Pact.

Both Adenauer and de Gaulle know this but each has his own reasons for keeping Central and Eastern Europe as a potential graveyard for American soldiers. Most of the public discussion of the Berlin crisis on the side of the West, and certainly of Moscow, has been on the level of boys shoving each other into a schoolyard fight that neither of them really wants. Fortunately there are signs of sanity in recent remarks by Khrushchev, Eisenhower and Macmillan.

Possibilities of Agreement

There are various devices under which guarantees can be given to Berlin which do not involve the indefinite continuance of an American garrison in an area of intense competitive armament between East and West. An agreement might be short of the ideal and still better than what Khrushchev has offered or the present situation affords. The danger now is that negotiators will be more concerned to save their respective faces than to prevent war. There is little evidence that the genuine love of people for peace will assert itself in time to be as effective as it ought. We are too far along the road to a garrison state. But we are not so far along that all hope is gone if we who care will act for peace. It is for that reason that the efforts of a Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, both to save the Geneva conference on the abolition of nuclear tests from disastrous failure and to promote rational consideration of the Berlin crisis, are so important and so deserving of our support. I am especially pleased that our Party has taken the stand it has in the matter of the Berlin crisis.

—The Socialist Call

* * *

SCHOOL OF LIVING

Are you dissatisfied with the values most people live by? Are you saddened by the narrow interest and spirit to which most people confine themselves? If so, you are one of us.

Individuals in School of Living protest today's fragmentation, injustice and moral ugliness. Its members try to work out for themselves a more balanced, fulfilling life. Its long-range plans aim to bring together those who are trying to hold out against the "illth" of modern civilization. It welcomes all whose courage will be fortified by doing battle together against the ignorance, cruelty and immaturity of what passes for culture.

We do not claim to have the answers. We do claim to be working sincerely toward the answers to many problems of which all sensitive adults are aware. Send for sample monthly journal.

CAPTIVE SCHOOLS

An American Tragedy

The "captive school" is an astounding institution. Most people believe such a thing could not exist in the United States. But it is a reality. There are hundreds of these institutions in at least 22 states. A captive school is a public school which has been taken over by the Roman Catholic Church and is operated as one of its own parish schools.

Priests of the Roman Catholic Church insist that they have been appointed by God to control education. This is stated by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical, "The Christian Education of Youth." A group of priests of Bloomfield, New Jersey, who were disputing over school arrangements with the local school board, cited this encyclical as giving them an authority superior to that of the board. Their Church's control over education, they said, "has precedence over any right of civil society and of the state, and for this reason no power on earth may infringe upon it."

The Church and the Schools

Roman Catholic priests believe that they should either (1) administer all schools, or (2) direct religious teaching in all schools, or (3) failing in either of these, develop their own private system of schools which their own followers are required to attend. (Canon Law 1374 of the Roman Catholic Church states: "Catholic children may not attend non-Catholic, neutral, or mixed schools, that is, those which are open also to non-Catholics . . .") The only exceptions must have the permission of the bishop).

The captive school is a development of number (1) above. Since the Catholic clergy are unable to take over and operate all public schools, they take over and operate those they are able to pre-empt. The captive school is the public school as the Roman Catholic Church would like to have it everywhere.

What is a captive school? It is a school staffed by nuns or brothers or priests of the Catholic Church wearing the distinctive garb and insignia of their denomination. Schoolroom walls are lined with symbols unique to the Roman Catholic Church—statues, madonnas, crucifixes and the like. Mass is held in juxtaposition with the school program, often in the period immediately preceding school hours. The catechism of the Roman

Catholic Church is taught in the class periods to all children, or by means of some contrived arrangement under which those who are formally excused can withdraw while it is being taught. The Catholic confessional is urged upon the pupils by the teachers. A peculiar non-historical history, featuring the United States as a Catholic nation in its origin and genius, is often taught. The Roman Catholic dogma that the Roman Church is the "only true church" is taught along with other beliefs peculiar to this denomination. Children are instructed in the prayers, mannerisms and beliefs characteristic of the Roman Church. All these procedures are defended on the ground that they constitute putting "God" and "spiritual values" into education.

The Nun Teacher

The salaries of the teaching nuns are paid from school funds of the local community. There is no withholding tax; the checks are signed over by the nuns to their superior or bishop. Other expenses of the captive school are also paid from public funds.

The teachers in the captive school have been called "faceless women" since they have taken vows of total obedience to their superiors and vows of total poverty. They may be transferred by the mother superior without notice at anytime. The superior has absolute authority over the nun, including the right to discipline her for infractions of the order's rules. The size of the nun's traveling bag is prescribed for her; she may not have her initials engraved on it. Her mail is read by the superior before she may read it. She is forbidden to wear a wrist watch or have gold fillings in her teeth. She is under solemn instruction from the Pope (Pius XI) to see that all courses she teaches shall be "permeated with Christian (i.e., Roman Catholic) piety."

In a decision unanimously upheld by the Missouri Supreme Court, it was declared that nuns teaching in the so-called public schools of Franklin County in that state were not free to accept the American policy of church-state separation in good faith. It said that "in case of conflict between the directions and orders of the defendant school directors . . . with the obligations, orders and directions of the superiors in their respective religious orders of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the nuns and each of them by virtue of their oaths of obedience be required to ignore the orders of the secular authorities and obey the orders of the religious superior and the Church hierarchy."

A fact not ordinarily realized is that the Roman Catholic sisters who teach in captive schools, as well as in regular paro-

chial schools, have often been recruited abroad and brought to the U. S. to serve as teachers. Such persons often have difficulty speaking the English language. They are strangers to the concepts and practices of American democracy. They live in a state of abject dependence upon their superiors, a state made the more irrevocable by their introduction to a new land whose ways they do not comprehend.

In some instances the nuns have been brought in as domestics under temporary visas. Then, since they lack educational qualifications to remain as teachers, special bills are put through Congress to circumvent the immigration quotas and permit them to remain anyhow. At Watertown, Ohio, for example, in the town's captive school, the teaching staff is composed of Sisters of the Assumption from Ireland. These women were brought to the U. S. by way of South Africa to be teachers in the Watertown "public school."

One of many such bills in Congress was a bill on behalf of three Italian-born nuns who have been teaching in parochial schools for Bishop Emmet M. Walsh of Youngstown, Ohio. Without educational qualifications, these women were deportable under immigration laws. Rep. Michael J. Kirwan (D-Ohio) introduced legislation giving Sister M. Damien, Sister M. Tarcisia and Sister M. Regina of the Oblates of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, permission to remain in the U. S. and become citizens. Such a maneuver has become almost commonplace. Nuns from abroad constitute a substantial number among Roman Catholic school teachers.

The Captive School at Work

In Jasper, Indiana, the school has a dual listing: it appears as a public school in the Indiana directory of public schools and as a parochial school in the diocesan record. It is operated as a regular parochial school taught by nuns. The salaries of the nuns and other school expenses are, however, paid out of public funds. The school day begins with Mass. Roman Catholic dogma is taught in the classrooms. Protestant and Jewish children may be excused from attendance if their parents so request. About 80% of the students are Catholic. Every teaching influence is used to indoctrinate all pupils in the Catholic faith. Protestants are told that if they don't like it they can move out. They have endured religious discrimination in the schools of Indiana for years, but they have been too intimidated to resort to the courts for relief.

In Marion County, Kentucky, Roman Catholic Actionists seized control of the school board and closed up the only high school serving the predominantly Protestant sector of the county. They lavishly furnished and equipped two captive schools, St. Charles and St. Francis, in the Catholic sector, and staffed them with Catholic sisters. Having closed the school in Bradfordsville, they attempted to force Protestant children into the captive schools. The result was a long and disastrous school strike. Bradfordsville citizens went to court and won their case in the Kentucky Court of Appeals. But three years later the Catholic school board and superintendent were still obstructing and frustrating the order of the court. Justice had not been done.

These are two examples among hundreds. A recent survey has disclosed 2055 Roman Catholic nuns, brothers and priests teaching in the public schools of this country. Problems like those described usually develop in the schools where they teach.

The Real Meaning

What is the real meaning of the captive school? It is a symbol and a warning. It is a symbol of the control over education which the Roman Church has always asserted for itself. It is a warning of what this church proposes to accomplish in numerous areas where it has a large membership.

POAU has contended that captive schools violate citizens' religious rights as guaranteed by the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution and also that they are in defiance of state laws.

POAU is a specialist in the captive school problem. It has attacked such school arrangements in the courts of six states and has succeeded in terminating them. The captive school is sold to the public on the ground that it "saves money." It may do so initially, since the nuns will work for less and the church may even own the building. But the community cleavage and social anguish which invariably develop are hardly worth the price.

You may have a captive school in your community. Such arrangements are more readily nipped in the bud than rooted out years later. If you know of such a situation, communicate with POAU, stating the facts as you have observed them, including newspaper clippings or public records if possible. As a loyal American, true to his country's honored tradition, you can do no less.

—C. Stanley Lowell in P.O.A.U.
1633 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 6. D.C.

A HUMANIST MANIFESTO

By D. Tribe

In regarding the human situation in our civilization, we find cause for disquiet. Where there should be cohesion is disruption. Where there should be confidence is uncertainty. Where there should be energy is apathy. Where there could be creation is a void.

We are aware that as most social maladies, like ills of other kinds, present many signs and symptoms, so they may be the united effect of many causes. Yet history shows that where there is widespread discontent in a time of material peace and prosperity, ideology is the main agency at fault; that private cynicism is the result of public falsehood; that waywardness develops when we have lost our way. As soon as the official creed of a society ceases to represent the genuine beliefs of its individuals, that society is facing decay.

History is strewn with societies that have thus decayed. Happily it abounds in civilizations that have saved themselves by changing their official creeds. We feel the time now ripe to apply this remedy to ourselves.

Every creed is a composite of ideas, most of which have been borrowed from creeds that have gone before or flourish beside it. Whether the ideas are old or new, they are satisfactory so long as they are useful to the community as a whole and seem reasonable to enlightened elements within it. The official creed of our civilization is today neither useful nor reasonable.

Throughout its devious history Christianity has tried to become all things to all men. Yet in the absence of any generally recognized continuous revelation, it rests fundamentally upon its sacred writings. We are not here concerned with how far these writings may be allegorical, but with the basic ideas on which their history or mythology is founded.

Primarily Christianity is committed to other-worldliness, to the supernatural, to spiritual forces, if not to mystic rites that would in any other culture be described as superstitious. Modern science is unable to explain ultimate reality either in cosmic or in micro-cosmic terms. But it has conclusively established that man is a thinking and feeling physical organism in a physical world which follows predictable laws. Whatever the nature of spirituality—if its existence be assumed—it is utterly beyond the human understanding, and therefore irrelevant to human needs. This fact is incontrovertible, and as long as fearless

proclamation of truth is at all revered in our society, should ring out constantly. Yet even pragmatists, unconcerned with theoretical truth, must admit that Christianity has signally failed to establish on earth that peace, amity and concord which it ceaselessly advertises.

Insofar as it is particularistic and evangelical, Christianity stands like all aggressive ideologies, political or religious, as a steady barrier to international understanding. For a hypothetical soul it will always sacrifice an undeniable body. Never able to convert every member of societies where it has enjoyed unlimited facilities for propaganda, or to foment peace among nations that have officially embraced it, it will never unite the world but remain a cause of dissension in the universal body politic, rendering world government—the only hope of a lasting peace—most unlikely. It may be argued that, if Christian tenets were true, we should neglect such worldly considerations. But their patent falseness offends every thinking man.

Certain supporters of Christianity protest, however, that whatever the merits of its ideology, it is the prop of our ethical or moral code. True, the Christian ethos contains provisions which all may deem admirable, but these provisions turn out on analysis not to be peculiar to itself. We must, therefore, ask whether worthy social aims need, or indeed should be, allied with a discredited dogma. Can truth be established on falsehood? Can honour be built upon hypocrisy and simulation? Right conclusions rarely follow from wrong premises. For even ignoring this conscientious objection, we find that Christian ethics involve principles we can no longer regard as desirable.

Firstly, they are choked by a system of promised rewards and punishments in a hypothetical after-life, so that spontaneous good will is in danger of disappearing. Secondly, they are subordinated to blind faith in an unsubstantiated dogma. They cling to the Decalogue, four of whose ten injunctions are meaningless in a world which has outlived the tribal God, Yahweh, rather than to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Thirdly, they discourage unbiased rationality, on which alone are based both material and moral progress. Fourthly, they place undue stress on the sexual taboos of the Apostle Paul. Fifthly, they consider unworthy thoughts as reprehensible as unworthy deeds. Sixthly, they arose in a primitive society which was not averse from slavery and female subjection, which believed that sin was hereditary and that it might be punished

by disease, especially mental disease, and which adopted a completely pessimistic view of human nature—concepts which have not been entirely abandoned even today.

It is surely obvious that as a nation we must declare ourselves a rational society, dedicated to the impartial pursuit of truth, and prepared to welcome whatever social prizes this pursuit may secure. Nostalgia must not bind us to the erroneous beliefs of bygone ages. We should look freely, not blinkered; yet forward, not back. Our course must be steered not by the moonshine of dogma, but by the instruments of science.

Modern biology has shown that however the need for food may induce the ruthless attack of one species upon another, within each species is a large measure of co-operation, both as a defence against common enemies and as an aid in building up community assets. Modern psychology has shown that man is a social animal, valuing the good opinion of his fellows, and the feeling of security which a stable and well-ordered society is able to give. Man can be born again only if his society is born again; and to effect this only man is potent. Sufficiency for all, justice, tolerance, equal opportunity, and the fostering of each individual's creativity and self-respect will do much to reduce man's allegedly natural tendency to crime. Ethics rests on mutual respect and understanding among all members of the human race, on the Golden Rule, which is often represented as uniquely Christian, but is at least as old as Confucius, on the substitution of social knowledge for ambiguous fables. No longer can ethics be deemed the absolute revelation of a supernatural power; for we find that, for example, animal and even human sacrifices, once deemed an essential of right living, are no longer encouraged. Unless our ethical and social ideas are given as free scope to develop as our technology, the human situation is parlous indeed.

We look out on—or rather, we own ourselves in the midst of—a world of conflicting loyalties and divided aims. Is this discord inevitable? Is strife to be ever with us? Without wishing to embrace utopianism, we do not believe that it is. But we cannot resolve our problems in a spirit of sloth and fear. Our aims must be positive, not negative; dedicated, not dated. With courage and good will, kinship and gumption, we can amicably settle all our disputes. Above all, if we are free from dogma, falsehood and superstition, which destroy peoples as readily as they destroy persons. The future happiness of mankind—

administration did was to promote the change in the pledge of allegiance to the Flag by adding "under God," making it controversial and quite obviously in conflict with the First Amendment.

It has long been evident that the framers of our Constitution intended that it should protect the rights of all religious groups. As Jefferson further stated: "Within the mantle of the protection, the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mohammedan, the Hindoo and the infidel of every denomination." It was predetermined that the word "God" was purposely left out of the Constitution.

The man now in the White House, whose old-time religion evidently did not show up until he entered political life, has just signed another bill making it the law that the "In God we Trust" slogan shall be extended to our currency.

It has been called to our attention that the so-called "Christian Amendment" to amend Article One of the Bill of Rights and calling upon the United States to recognize "the authority and law of Jesus Christ", has been again introduced by Congressmen Siler of Kentucky and Utt of California as House Joint Resolutions 312 and 324. This is obviously another move, directed by the Roman Church to short circuit our Constitution and open the road to the one church state.

Then, we have the rider that was attached to the Defense Appropriation Bill aimed at curtailing the transfer of government business-type activities to private hands. It is reported that the President advised Congress that he would not abide by this section of the Bill that would stop his administration give-away of the public wealth to private interests, which, according to the report in the "Nation," amounts to \$13,000,000 for each day since he has been in office.

We understand that a President takes an oath to support the Constitution and the laws of the land. By ignoring enactments such as noted above is the President supporting the basic code of the land? When a President proposes to break the laws, what an example is set for the citizenry!

Someone once said: "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance."

We end with these words of Thomas Paine: "A constitution is not the act of a government, but of a people constituting a government; and government without a constitution is power without a right.

"All power exercised over a nation must have some begin-

ning. It must be either delegated or assumed. There are no other sources. All delegated power is trust, and all assumed power is usurpation. Time does not alter the nature and quality of either."

—E.O.C.

* * *

PANDIT NEHRU AND COW SLAUGHTER

We commend the brave stand taken by Prime Minister Nehru in the Lok Sabha when he opposed the introduction of the Bill sponsored by Seth Govind Das to abolish cow slaughter. It is now well known that there is a core of reaction inside the Congress party led by Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon who seeks to revive religious superstitions and to oppose all progressive measures. As the leader of the party, Pandit Nehru is obliged to satisfy this reactionary section and carry it along with him in the execution of his policies. Our sympathies are with him in his efforts to carry on amidst the internal party opposition with which he is faced. Opposing Seth Govind Das's Bill, Pandit Nehru delivered a conciliatory speech conceding the need to prevent cow slaughter but only pleading that the method of prevention ought not to be by coercive legislation affecting the whole of India but should be by piece-meal measures adopted by State Governments. In reply to an attack by Mr. Tandon who threatened him with a letter of resignation from the party on this issue, he quoted the instance of the North-East Frontier Hills where the tribal people were putting up an agitation against the Government for prohibiting the slaughter of cows which they eat on ceremonial occasions. This amount of moderation in the Prime Minister can be understood and sympathized with by the progressives in India in the light of the Tandonian opposition which he has to cope with.

But there is no doubt whatever that the real intention of the Prime Minister is to sail with the progressive forces of the world and to cultivate the cattle wealth of the country in conformity with the scientific methods of breeding and preservation of cattle adopted by the advanced nations. Indeed, when heckled by Mr. Deshpande, a member of Parliament representing the orthodox Hindu Mahasabha, the Prime Minister burst out with characteristic vehemence:

"The member should learn some agricultural economics. Human beings are more important than cows. I am prepared to resign my Prime Ministership on this issue. The policy of the Government is perfectly clear. We stand or fall

lation of 53.7 million, almost three times East Germany's population of 17.4 million, now ranks as the most populous country in Europe this side of the Iron Curtain.

These population developments, the Population Reference Bureau of Washington, D. C., points out, may prove far more important in settling the fate of the "Two Germanys" than any of the specific topics taken up by the Big Four foreign ministers when they met on May 11 in Geneva in preparation for a late summer Summit Conference.

The Bureau, a non-profit organization devoted to population study, noted these factors in East Germany's "demographic decline" and West Germany's resurgence:

1. The vast flow of able-bodied population from East to West continues without let-up. Each day a large village in effect "moves" westward across the border between the two Germanys. For the last five years, refugees have been coming over at the rate of almost a quarter million a year. Significantly, most are young people of working age—a fact that spells serious economic trouble for East Germany.

2. As a result of the millions of German soldiers killed during World War Two, both West Germany and East Germany will continue for many years to suffer an imbalance between men and women. Women now comprise 55 percent of the East German population and 54 percent of the West German.

3. In addition to East German refugees, West Germany's population now includes millions of Germans and persons of German descent who at the end of the war were driven out of the Eastern European satellites and former German territory, presently under Polish rule. By 1950, eight million had arrived at West German borders.

4. Historically, the Soviet-occupied portion of Germany (now the "German Democratic Republic"), embracing 41,478 square miles or an area the size of Ohio, was primarily agricultural. The big industrial complexes like the Ruhr were within the 94,719 square miles of the Allied-occupied zones, an area the combined size of New York and Pennsylvania, now the German Federal Republic.

In 1950, the last year for which reliable figures are available, the median age of workers in the Soviet zone was 42 for men and 36 for women. In addition, women comprised 42

percent of its industrial workers as compared with 32 percent in the U. S.

Figures released recently by the West German Government show that in the years 1952-1958, 50.3 percent of the refugees from East Germany were under 25 years of age and another 27.8 percent between the ages of 25 and 45.

Short of a sharp reversal in the trend of her birth rate—and there seems no likelihood of that in the near future, East Germany cannot hope for births to redress her migration losses, currently more than three times the natural increase (births over deaths) of her population.

Because of the continuing migration of young people and in contrast to a slowly rising birth rate in West Germany, the East German birth rate is slipping steadily lower. From 16.9 in 1951, it fell to 16.3 in 1955, to 15.9 in 1956, to 15.6 in 1957—the last year for which figures are available. West Germany's birth rate climbed from 16.5 in 1950 to an even 17.0 in 1957.

Unless this steady drain of population, especially as it affects younger people, is arrested in some way, East Germany will have fewer and fewer men to operate her factories and farms, more and more women joining her labor force and a mounting dependency ratio with the East German economy having to provide for an ever-higher proportion of non-productive citizens.

Population Reference Bureau,
1507 M Street, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

* * *

Editor's Note: Maybe you are sufficiently advanced in your beliefs to join a church such as the Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City in which Dr. Harold Scott serves as pastor, or join a Unitarian or Universalist Fellowship that declares its Humanistic approach, or better yet, join or start a Humanist chapter. This world needs your support now.

* * *

The world is blessed most by men who do things, and not by those who merely talk about them. —James Oliver

CLOSING THOUGHTS

As the plow is the typical instrument of industry, so the fetter is the typical instrument of the restraint or subjection necessary in a nation—either literally, for its evildoers, or figuratively, in accepted laws, for its wise and good men. You have to choose between this figurative and literal use; for depend upon it, the more laws you accept, the fewer penalties you will have to endure, and the fewer punishments to enforce. For wise laws and just restraints are to a noble nation not chains, but chain mail—strength and defense, though something also of an encumbrance. And this necessity of restraint, remember, is just as honorable to man as the necessity of labor. You hear every day greater numbers of foolish people speaking about liberty, as if it were such an honorable thing: so far from being that, it is, on the whole, and in the broadest sense, dishonorable, and an attribute of the lower creatures. No human being, however large or powerful, was ever so free as a fish. There is always something that he must or must not do; while the fish may do whatever it likes. All the kingdoms of the world put together are not half so large as the sea, and all the railroads and wheels that ever were, or will be invented are not so easy as fins.

You will find, on fairly thinking of it, that it is his restraint which is honorable to man, not his liberty; and, what is more, it is restraint which is honorable even in the lower animals. A butterfly is much more free than a bee; but you honor the bee more, just because it is subject to certain laws which fit it for orderly function in bee society. And throughout the world, of the two abstract things, liberty and restraint, restraint is always the more honorable. It is true, indeed, that in these and all other matters you never can reason finally from the abstraction, for both liberty and restraint are good when they are nobly chosen, and both are bad when they are badly chosen; but of the two, I repeat, it is restraint which characterizes the higher creature and betters the lower creatures and, from the ministering of the arch-angel to the labor of the insect—from the poisoning of the planets to the gravitation of a grain of dust—the power and glory of all creatures, and all matter, consist in their obedience, not in their freedom. The sun has no liberty—a dead leaf has much. The dust of which you are formed has no liberty. Its liberty will come—with its corruption. And, therefore I say that as the first power of a nation consists in knowing how to guide a plow, its second power consists in knowing how to wear the fetter.

—John Ruskin

THE MEMBERSHIP ROLL CALL

The Humanist World Fellowship publishes the Humanist World Digest, which builds for humanism squarely on the universal idea of brotherhood and the operation of the free mind seeking truth.

Will you answer this roll call and help spread the message of religious humanism in its creation and pursuit of ideals and values and the relationship men feel with one another and the universe? The subscription to the Humanist World Digest is now \$1.50 for one year. Why not also send in a subscription for a friend. The Humanist World Digest will act as a missionary toward bringing light where darkness prevailed. We will thank you for the names of those you think might like to know about this magazine. Support of this good work comes from subscribers and their contribution. Our subscribers are our only angels.

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INTERPRETING HUMANIST OBJECTIVES

HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP is a religious association incorporated under the laws of the State of California with all the rights and privileges of such organizations. It enrolls members, charters local societies, affiliates like-minded groups, establishes educational projects and ordains ministers.

HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP defines religion in terms of two inseparable historical processes: (1) the ages-long quest for ultimate human values; and (2) the continuous effort to realize these values in individual experience and in just and harmonious social relations. Humanism affirms the inviolable dignity of the individual and declares democracy the only acceptable method of social progress.

MODERN HUMANISM seeks to unite the whole of mankind in ultimate religious fellowship. It strives for the integration of the whole personality and the perfection of social relationships as the objectives of religious effort. Humanism, in broad terms, tries to achieve a good life in a good world. **HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP** is a shared quest for that good life.

Above all, man is not to be regarded as an instrument that serves and glorifies totalitarianism — economic, political or ecclesiastical.

HUMANISM insists that man is the highest product of the creative process within our knowledge, and as such commands our highest allegiance. He is the center of our concern. He is not to be treated as a means to some other end, but as an end in himself. Heretofore man has been considered a means to further the purpose of gods, states, economic systems, social organizations; but Humanism would reverse this and make all these things subservient to the fullest developments of the potentialities of human nature as the supreme end of all endeavor. This is the cornerstone of Humanism, which judges all institutions according to their contribution to human life.

HUMANISM recognizes that all mankind are brothers with a common origin. We are all of one blood with common interests and a common life and should march with mutual purposes toward a common goal. This means that we must erad-

icate racial antagonisms, national jealousies, class struggles, religious prejudices and individual hatreds. Human solidarity requires that each person consider himself a cooperating part of the whole human race striving toward a commonwealth of man built upon the principles of justice, good will and service.

HUMANISM seeks to understand human experience by means of human inquiry. Despite the claims of revealed religions, all of the real knowledge acquired by the race stems from human inquiry. Humanists investigate facts and experience, verify these, and formulate thought accordingly. However, nothing that is human is foreign to the Humanist. Institutions, speculations, supposed supernatural revelations are all products of some human mind so must be understood and evaluated. The whole body of our culture — art, poetry, literature, music, philosophy and science must be studied and appreciated in order to be understood and appraised.

HUMANISM has no blind faith in the perfectibility of man but assumes that his present condition, as an individual and as a member of society, can be vastly improved. It recognizes the limitations of human nature but insists upon developing man's natural talents to their highest point. It asserts that man's environment, within certain limits, can be arranged so as to enhance his development. Environment should be brought to bear on our society so as to help to produce healthy, sane, creative, happy individuals in a social structure that offers the most opportunity for living a free and full life.

HUMANISM accepts the responsibility for the conditions of human life and relies entirely upon human efforts for their improvement. Man has made his own history and he will create his own future—for good or ill. The Humanist determines to make this world a fit place to live in and human life worth living. This is a hard but challenging task. It could result gloriously.

These brief paragraphs indicate the objectives and methods of **HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP** as a religious association. Upon the basis of such a program it invites all like-minded people into membership and communion. Let us go forward together.

STARR KING SCHOOL FOR THE MINISTRY

2441 LE CONTE AVE.

BERKELEY, CALIF.